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SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
CONSEQUENCES

Of the *French* Settling COLONIES on the
MISSISSIPPI,
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With respect to the Trade and Safety of the
ENGLISH PLANTATIONS in *America*
and the *West-Indies*.

From a Gentleman of AMERICA, to his Friend
in LONDON.

Quis cum ruat arduus Æther
Complosas tenuisse manus ——— velit. Lucan.

Nam quæ reliqua spes manet libertatis, si illis &
quod libet, licet: & quod libet possunt: & quod
possunt audent: & quod audent, faciunt: &
quod faciunt, vobis molestum non est?

Cic. ad Her.

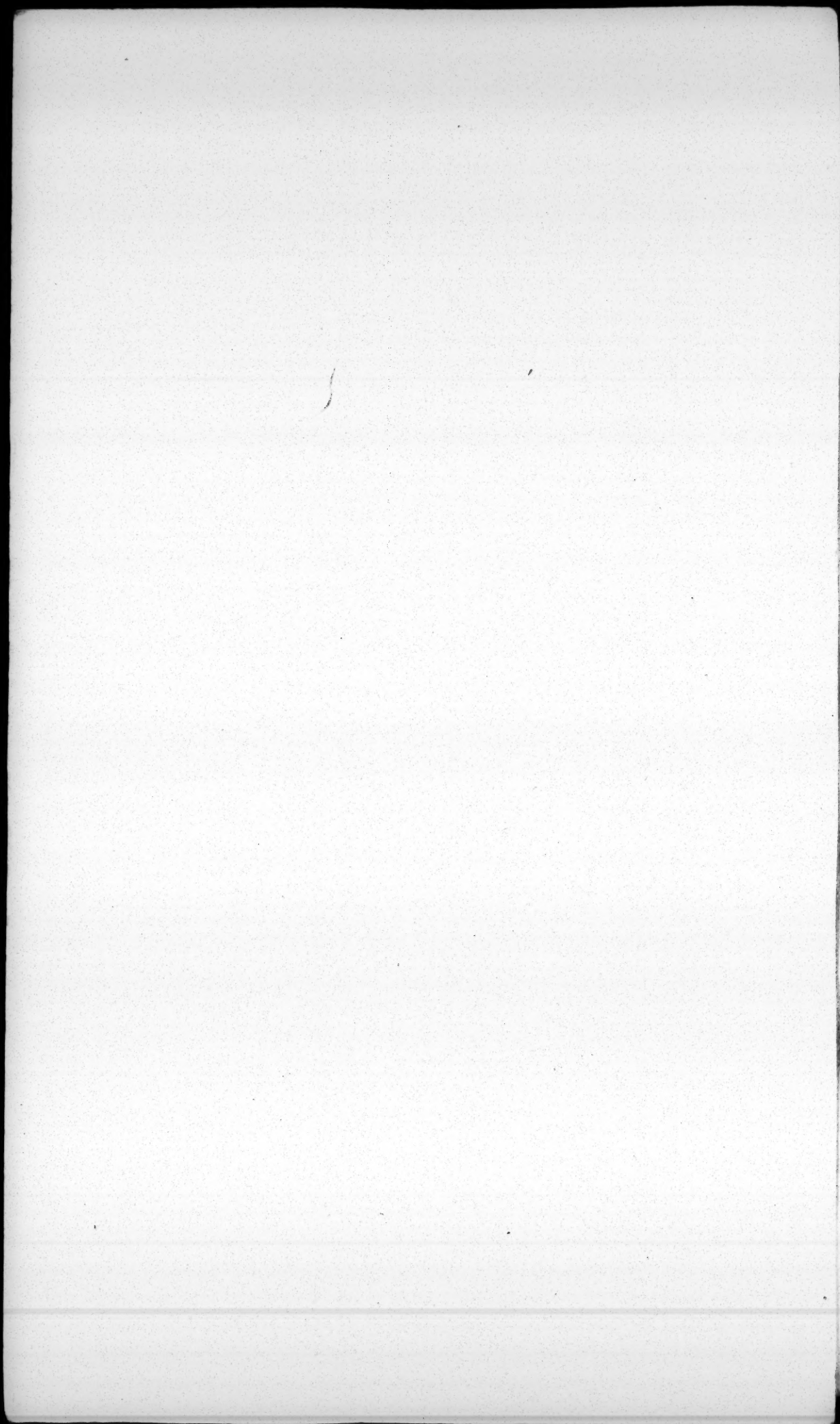
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S O M E

Considerations, &c.

S I R,



H E sudden and surprizing Turn the Affairs of *France* have lately taken, in relation to their Trade, under the Conduct and Direction of Mr. *Law*, is justly looked upon as one of the most prodigious Events any Age has produced, and I believe is scarce to be paralleled in History.

It has for some time past been the general Topick of Conversation in most Countries in *Europe*, and as every Man finds himself, in a manner forced to say something or other about it; all your *heavy* Fellows, who would pass for *wise*, but who have neither

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Parts nor Application sufficient to examine so great a Scheme, have thought it the shortest way, to tell us gravely it will certainly come to nothing, and to treat it in all their Discourses as a meer *Chimera*.

In the mean time, it is scarce credible that a Nation, broken by a long and unsuccessful War, plunged in immense Debts, groaning under intollerable Imposts, and in a word, almost reduced to the utmost Degree of Misery, should at once start up in so flourishing a Condition, as to be able to clear off all the Debts of their King, settle their Commerce upon the most solid and extensive Bottom any People have yet done, and become at once the Envy and Admiration of all their Neighbours. The *Mississippi* Company has at present in Cash and Credit above *one hundred Millions* Sterling. *Paris*, like the Temple of Fortune among the *Heathens*, is resorted to by innumerable Crowds of every Nation, Quality and Condition, and the dirty Kennel of *Quinquem-poix* has for some time been more frequented than the *Royal Exchange* of *London*.

Tho' all this at first view seems incredible, yet if we would give ourselves the trouble to reflect seriously on all the happy Circumstances which concurred to favour Mr. *Law's* Projects, our Wonder will in some Measure be abated.

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The People of *France*, upon the Death of their late Monarch, began to take Breath after the many grievous Oppressions they had suffered, during a long and Tyrannical Reign, and being in some Measure delivered from heavy Taxes and Arbitrary Power, began to resume the Notions of Property, to apply themselves to the Arts of Peace, and to employ their Industry in improving their home Manufactures, and extending their Trade over the whole Face of the Globe.

The *Regent*, like a true Father of his People, cherished this laudable Disposition in them with the utmost Indulgence. He began his Administration with punishing those Men who had been their most notorious Oppressors, and who, amidst the publick Calamities, had raised immense Fortunes, and enriched themselves by equally defrauding the Crown and the *Publick*. When he had taken this necessary Step, resolved to merit the Title of the *Founder*, or at least the *Restorer* of the Grandeur of *France*, he turned all his Care to the settling of the *Finances* on a solid and just Foundation, and to the enlarging of Trade. His Endeavours in these two Particulars being publickly known, set all the projecting Heads in *France* at Work to assist him in so glorious an Undertaking; among these, it was easy for such a Genius as Mr. *Law*, to distinguish himself

in a very remarkable Manner. The *Regent* soon comprehended, and relished his Proposals, and resolved to assist him in the Execution of them with all his Power: Countenanced by so August a Patron, and happening to hit the enterprizing Genius of the *French*, he has executed his Designs with that Success which has astonished all *Europe*.

It would be somewhat Foreign to my present Design, to examine particularly all Mr. *Law*'s Schemes, in order to demonstrate their Certainty, yet to the Confusion of those Gentlemen, who are pleased to call them Novelties, Dreams and Chimera's, I shall just observe, that the Basis which supports them all, *viz.* The King's granting to the united *East and West India* Companies, a Lease of the general Farms is not so new a Project, as I am perswaded these superficial Politicians take it to be. It was first set on Foot many Years since, in the State of *Genoa*, for the same Reasons and with the same Success, that it is now established in *France*.

That Republick, as *Machiavel* in his History of *Florence* informs us, after a long and unsuccessful War with the *Venetians*, finding themselves unable to pay the large Sums of Money they had borrowed from their Subjects, thought it the best and honestest Method to assign over to them the Revenues of the Government for the Payment of their Money,

ney, and they had a common Hall allotted them to meet in, and consult about the Management and Improvement of their *Finances*. The Creditors thus possessed of the publick Taxes, called their Corporation, St. George's Bank, and appointing proper Directors out of their own Body for the Collecting and Management of their Stock, which became so Rich and Considerable in a short Time, that the Preservation and Security of the Commonwealth depended upon them. The People both in their publick and private Necessities, constantly applying to them for Relief; hence it was, that amidst all the several Factions in the Republick, St. George's Bank still preserved its first Lustre and Credit, nor did the Body of the People think it worth their while to enter heartily into any Quarrel, till they saw their Patron and Benefactor was concerned in it. *A most excellent and rare Thing*, says the Historian, *never found out by any of the old Philosophers in their imaginary Forms of Government, that in the same State, and same People, one might see at once both Liberty and Tyranny, Justice and Oppression.* This last Observation is so very Applicable to the Government of France, upon the Foot it is now established, that I could not help quoting it. Mr. Law, as a late Writer finely observes, *has found out the Secret in an absolute Monarchy, to make it the*
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Interest of the Prince to secure the Liberty of the Subject. This is so true a State of the Case, that if those superficial Reasoners, who telling us every Day, there can be no Security under a despotick Government, and that the *Regent* may at once cancel all the Bank Bills, now Current in *France*, had Capacity enough to weigh the Probability of such an Accident, they would be ashamed of their weak Assertions.

There had been no such thing as publick Credit in *France* for some Years past. The Government when it was too late, were thoroughly sensible of her Loss. They made some vain Efforts to retrieve her, but like a coy Mistress when pursued she flew the faster. Mr. *Law*, like *Hyppomenes* of old, has at last flung out a Lure which has brought her back. She is at present the brightest Ornament of the Court of *France*, and has added such a Lustre to their Crown, as has made it infinitely more Powerful and Valuable than any other in all *Europe*. It is an allowed Maxim in Politicks, that *Greatness is to be maintained by the same Methods it was at first acquired.* And to suppose that the *Regent*, or any succeeding Prince in *France*, in order to aggrandize himself, will take things out of the present Channel in which they run, to fling them into their former Confusion, is full as improbable, as that a Man who is building should
take

take away his *Foundation* in order to raise his *Superstructure*.

From what has been said, it pretty plainly appears, that Mr. *Law's* Plan is founded both on *Reason* and *Practice*, and I shall leave your own Judgment to suggest to you, of what Consequence it is to the united Companies to have the whole Revenues of *France* in their Hands, with many large Privileges and additional Advantages; how great the Improvement of so vast a Sum well managed must be, and what an extensive and flourishing Trade that must prove, which is settled on the Credit of so inexhaustable a Capital.

The only Matter of Wonder remaining with me, and which Posterity perhaps will be equally amazed at, is, that a People so careful as the *English* have always been, to assert and secure the several Branches of their Trade, and so jealous of their most peaceable Neighbours in this tender Point, should stand gazing at these prodigious Preparations with as little Concern, as if they only beheld some uncommon Appearance in the Air which could no ways affect them; either insensible of their Danger, or too lazy to take the necessary Steps to prevent it.

You may please to remember, Sir, what Clamours were raised against the Managers of the late Treaty at *Utrecht*, for yielding up *Cape-Breton* to the French, tho' by the way,
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it is more than probable, as will appear from what I shall observe on that Head in another Place, that if the *twelfth Article* of that Treaty had been *strictly observed* and *duly put in Execution*, they must have abandoned that Island before this time. You cannot likewise have forgot what struggles we have had with them for *Hudson's Bay*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Newfound-Land*; yet now their possessing themselves of a Country more Valuable than all our Plantations put together, is such a trifle, as scarce seems to merit our Consideration.

Whatever Motives may have prevailed with those to sit silent and unactive, whose more particular Business it seems to be to examine into this Affair, and ward against the impending Danger; or how plausible soever the Pretences of the *French* may seem, to People unacquainted with their Practices in *America*, and the Scituation and Extent of their new Empire *Louisiana*, I think my self oblig'd to acquaint my Countrymen, that if these New Settlements are permitted to be carried on, the *English Trade* will in a great Measure be *ruined* on the Continent of *America*, and all our Colonies, unless much better regulated and secured than they are at present, may one time or other, be *entirely taken from us*; and as I shall advance nothing in Proof of this Assertion, but what will be supported by
 Autho-

Authority or undeniable Facts, I am in hopes the Legislature will take some Measures for the Security of our Plantations Abroad, on which the Wealth of *Great-Britain* so much depends.

Having said thus much by way of Preface, I come now to consider, what I promised in the Title Page, viz. The Consequences of the *French* settling Colonies on the *Mississippi*; in order to which it will be very necessary, to give you, Sir, an Account of the Country it self, and of the first Discovery of it.

We find no Account of the River *Mississippi* (tho' without doubt something of it was known from the Days of *Hernandes à Soto*, who crossed over it *Anno 1541*, as he was returning from his fruitless Expedition against *Florida*) before the Year 1674, when Count *Fontenac* at that Time Governor of *Canada*, hearing it much talk'd of by the *Indians*, and supposing on their Report it might fall into the Bay of *California*, and so open a Passage into the *South-Sea*, order'd Mr *Joliet*, with six more, to undertake the Discovery. These Adventurers setting out from the Bay of *Puants* in the Lake *Illinois*. proceeded to the Westward by Water sixty Leagues, and being oblig'd to carry their Canoe over Land about half a League, embark'd again on the River *Misconsin*, which convey'd them into the *Mississippi*, into the Latitude of 42 De-

grees and an half. They follow'd its Course directly *South* to the Latitude of 34, and intended to have run down to the very Mouth, according to the Instructions they had receiv'd, but the dreadful Stories the Savages told them of Monsters, that devour'd both Men and Canoes, and a Devil that guarded the Mouth of the River, and sunk those who approach'd the Place, where he stood, together with the Apprehension of meeting with the *Spaniards*, made them change their Resolution, and return home the same way they had gone, contenting themselves with having discover'd, that the *Mississippi* did not discharge it self into the *South Sea*, nor to the *Eastward* of *Florida*, as was supposed.

The next Attempt was made by Mr. *De Sale*, a Man of great Courage and Capacity, of good Learning, and well vers'd in several Savage Languages. He was bred a *Jesuit*, and had lived ten or eleven Years in that Order, but taking more delight in Trade and Projects for new Discoveries, he went over into *Canada*, and purchas'd a Settlement in the Island of *Montreal*, 60 Leagues above *Quebec* on the River *St. Laurence*. Upon the Recommendations of the Governors of *Canada*, who had successively express'd their Esteem for him, he was first made Governour, and then Proprietor of Fort *Frontenac* on the Lake *Ontario*, the Place at that Time farthest advanced

60 Leagues from
New-York to
Quebec

vanced among the Savages, which gave him an Opportunity of gaining more certain Informations touching the *Mississippi*, and the Country it runs thro', than had been published, in a Book entitled Mr. *Foliet's Voyage*: For this Gentleman having unfortunately in his return lost the Journal and Map, he had made, by the over-setting of his Canoe, many fabulous Accounts of that Voyage were forged to amuse the Publick, of all which he was unjustly suppos'd to be the Author.

Mr. *De Sale* had a passionate Desire to visit the rich Mines of *St. Barbe*, and to find out a nearer Passage into the *South-Sea* than thro' the Streights of *Magellan*, and both these he hop'd might be accomplished by means of the *Mississippi*. With this view he made a Voyage to *France*, Anno 1676, and having been well receiv'd at Court, and dispatch'd with the necessary Orders for pursuing his Designs, he return'd to *Canada* two Years after. To make the Discovery more compleat, he appointed Father *Hennepin* to Travel to the *Northward*, and trace the River up to its Source, reserving to himself the Honour of searching for its Mouth. The Fryar set out a long Time before Mr. *de Sale*, who was thwarted in all his Undertakings by his envious and malicious Countrymen, and passing down the River *Illinois* into the *Mississippi*, where the other discharges itself,

instead of going *North*, as he was order'd to do, went first *South*, hoping to acquire a Name, for his Ambition that way was at least equal to Mr. *de Sale's*, by being the Discoverer of this mysterious River. He pursued the Stream to the Gulph of *Mexico*, where he perceiv'd it empties itself thro' three different Channels, between the 27th and 28th Degree of *North* Latitude, as near as he could Conjecture, for he had no Instrument to observe with, and then returning back, advanced towards its Head as far as 50 or 51.

Mr. *de Sale* began his Expedition in 1682. He ran down the River, which he found parted into two Branches about 60 Leagues from the Sea, he follow'd that to the *Northward*, and having discover'd its Mouth, and the Latitude it lies in, viz. between 28 and 29 Degrees, he resolv'd to make another Tryal to find out an Entrance into the *Mississippi* by Sea, by which he thought an easy and safe Communication might be formed between *Canada* and the Gulph of *Mexico*; with this Prospect he took another Voyage to *France*, where his Project being approv'd, the King order'd him three Vessels, with a Man of War of forty Guns, a considerable Number of Soldiers, and all other Things necessary for the inabling him to carry on his Enterprize. With these he came

came into the Bay [of *Mexico* in the beginning of the Year 1685, where he sought for the same Mouth in vain for the Space of three Weeks, and was at last oblig'd to go a-shoar to the S. W. of the Place, where it really was, which was the Cause of his Death, and the Ruin of the whole Design, three of his Ships having been lost, and himself barbarously murther'd by the perfidious Villains who attended him.

A War breaking out in *Europe* before the News of these Disasters had reach'd the Court of *France*, this Project was laid aside till the Peace was concluded at *Reswick*, when it was reviv'd by Mr. d'Iberville a Gentleman born in *Canada*, and famous for his Exploits in several Parts of *North America*. He saild from *France* into the Gulph of *Mexico* in the Year 1698, and search'd along the Coast so narrowly, that he found out the Mouth of that fatal River, and built a Fort upon it, where he left a Garrison. He went thither a second Time with Reinforcements from *France*, and having penetrated far into the Country, discover'd many Savage Nations, and made several Alliances with them. He built another Fort, which he left well stor'd with Men and Necessaries. After this he return'd home, but happening to die on his third Voyage back to the *Mississippi*,
and

*Grant of
Mississippi to
Crozat
1712*

and *France* being soon after engag'd in a new War, this Enterprize was again laid aside.

During the Cessation of Arms in 1712, the late King granted by Letters Patent to his Secretary Mr. *Crozat* (the fittest Person in *France* to support and execute so great an Undertaking) the sole Power to Trade and settle Colonies on the *Mississippi*, and in all the Countries lying between *Carolina* on the *East*, and new *Mexico* on the *West*. This Grant Mr. *Crozat* resign'd about two Years ago on good Considerations in Favour of the *West India Company*.

After this short Narrative, I must desire you Sir, before I proceed farther, to reflect on the inexpressible Toil and Danger that attended these several Discoveries, the unsuccessful and fatal Attempts of most of the Adventurers, the Care and Expences the Crown of *France* was at in providing Armaments, and all other Requisites for supporting the Project, and that constant irresistible Ardor, wherewith the *French* have in spite of their Nature pursued this single Design for the Space of six and forty Years successively, and then tell me, if after all, you can seriously believe that what they have been so long aiming at, is only a Chimæra, or an empty Name invented by Mr. *Lam* to commend (as it is affirm'd) his own imaginary Schemes. I am sure the *English* in North
America,

America, who understand somewhat better than the Stock-Jobbers in *London*, the Nature and Situation of this new Country, with the Advantages the *French* will certainly reap from planting their Colonies in it, have all along been of another Opinion, as some not far from *Whitehall* can testify, from the many Letters, Memorials, Representations and Remonstrances, which have been written on that Subject from time to time, and transmitted to *England*.

How far the Limits of the Country, the *French* intend to possess may extend, is impossible to be known at present, and may perhaps remain a Secret during your Life and mine. That part of it which was granted to Mr. *Crozat*, and is now vested in the Company, is bounded by new *Mexico*, and the Lands of the *English* of *Carolina*, *West* and *East*, and by the River *Illinois*, and the Gulph of *Mezico*, *North* and *South*; wherein if it be meant, as no doubt it is, that all the Tracts of Land not actually possess'd by the *Spaniards* of *Mexico*, and the *English* of *Carolina*, tho' claim'd respectively by both, shall be comprehended, it will take in more than two thirds of the Gulph, and reckoning from *St. Fe* in New *Mexico* to our most westerly Settlements in *Carolina*, about 24 Degrees of Longitude, or 1440 Miles, and from the
Mouth

Mouth of the *Illinois* to that of the *Mississippi*, 150 or 160 Leagues in a strait Line.

But this is only a Part of *Louisiana*, which the King of *France* (by a Reservation express'd in the Patent) may enlarge when he thinks fit, the whole Extent of that immense Country reaching the *South-Sea*, *Japan*, and and the *Frozen Ocean*.

Father *Hennepin*, in the Account, he dedicated to King *William*, of his Travels thro' a great Part of it, positively asserts, that *Japan* is contiguous to the *Northern America*, (The great *Grævius* was also of this Opinion) and that an easy Passage may be infallibly found out from *Louisiana* to the *South-Sea* thro' Rivers, that run beyond the *Mississippi* deep enough to carry Ships of great Burthen, and he farther offer'd to return back in his Majesty's Service to make the Discovery. I have very good Reason to believe that great Prince would have accepted the Proposal, and improv'd it to the Glory and Advantage of *England*, had it not been for his Alliance with *Spain*, which likewise prov'd fatal to the Settlements of the *Scots* in *Darien*. It is a melancholy Consideration, that so noble an Enterprize, founded on just and honourable Motives, and carried on with invincible Zeal and Bravery, should have been discouraged, betray'd and ruin'd, and the *French* at the same time permitted to build

build Forts, and plant Colonies, as I have already hinted, under the Command of Mr. D'Iberville, in a Country to which both *England* and *Spain* had a much better Title. It is true, Mr. D'Iberville's Commission empower'd him only to "establish the Colonies," and maintain the Garrisons, which had pre-served the Possession of what was acquired "to the Crown of *France* by Mr. De Sale; but one of the Forts having been intirely raz'd by the *Spaniards*, and the Garrison carried off, and the other abandon'd some Years before the Date of this Commission; the Right insisted on by Vertue of that Possession, was quite lost and extinguish'd: Besides, if the Charters granted by the Crown of *England*, to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, be allow'd to be of any Validity or Force, it may be doubted, whether a Possession of much longer Continuance could devolve any Right on the *French*; but as the Decision of this, and other Points of the same Nature, depends wholly on the Wisdom of those Sovereign Princes, whose Prerogative it seems to be, to create and annihilate Rights in *America*, I shall trouble you no further about it.

The Missionaries and others, who have had the most perfect Knowledge of *Louisiana*, give us so great an Idea of its un-

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*The Spaniards
deposed from
the Possession
of Iberville*

*The Climate
produces
Lumpian*

common Beauties and Productions, that one would take it for the *French* Men's Paradise. The Climate is so temperate, that the Inhabitants enjoy a continual Spring, and are scarce subject to any Diseases ; the Soil is so fertile, that (as Father *Hennepin* told King *William*) it yields two Crops every Year without Ploughing or Sowing. It naturally brings forth in great Abundance, Sugar-Canes, Tobacco, Cotton-Trees, Silk-Worms, Corn, Hemp and Vines : In a Word, whatever is esteem'd valuable among us, either for Use or Pleasure, may be found there with very little Art or Industry. There is Plenty of Fish, Fowls, and Beasts of sundry Kinds, unknown to us in *Europe*, especially wild Oxen, which are twice as large as ours ; and instead of Hair, are covered with a Wooll, equal in Length and Fineness to that the *French* have from their Sheep in *Europe*. The Land is every where well stor'd with Mines of Iron, Copper, and in many Places of Silver, whereof prodigious Quantities are dug up, in *St. Barbara*, *St. John's*, and *Ende* by the *Spaniards* ; and many more, and perhaps richer Mines of the same Metal, may be open'd to the *Northward* and *Eastward*, where the *Spaniards* have never yet ventur'd to establish any Settlement.

Mr.

Mr. Gage, who lived Twelve Years in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, in his Description of *New Galicia*, informs us, that the *Spaniards* were continually in War with the *Indians*, who Inhabited the *Northern* Parts of that Province, for the sake of the Silver Mines in their Territories, fearing least the *Engliff* from *Virginia* (for *Carolina* was not then planted) should be before-hand with them in gaining the Possession of these hidden Treasures. He further adds, That he has often heard the *Spaniards* express their Wonder, that the People of that Colony should prefer a little *paultry Tobacco* (as he terms it) before the invaluable Advantages they might, with the greatest Certainty, expect to draw from such an easy Conquest. As for the Gold Mines near the River *Mis-souri*, of which some Accounts have been published in *France*, I shall suspend my Belief concerning them, and many other Things grounded on the like Reports, 'till that curious and adventurous Nation shall oblige the World with clearer and more certain Discoveries in that Particular, than any they have yet published.

But the chief Glory of *Louisiana* is the Famous *Mississippi*, in many Respects the finest River in the World; it springs from several Lakes to the Westward of *Hudson's-Bay*, and bending its Course directly South,

Mississippi
river

falls through six large Channels into the Gulph of Mexico. Father *Hennepin*, who pretends to have survey'd it from both its Extremities, says, it is about Eight hundred Leagues long, its Windings and Turnings included, and it is very probable it may be much longer; for with all due Respect to that Great Traveller (whose singular Courage and Piety in searching out new Countries, and barbarous Nations, and propagating among them his Religion, none of the best indeed, yet good enough for Savages, can never be sufficiently applauded) I am inclin'd to think, that he reach'd neither the Head, nor any of the Mouths. It is free from Shoals and Cataracts, and Navigable within sixty Leagues of its Source: The Channel is every where deep, and the Current gentle, except at a certain Season of the Year, when like the *Nile*, it swells with Floods occasion'd by excessive Rains, and the Snow melting away in the *Northern* Regions. Its Banks, according to the Relations of those, who have sail'd within them, yield the most beautiful Prospects that can be imagin'd: They are adorn'd with a delightful Variety of Meadows and Groves, cover'd with wild Beasts, and inhabited by almost Two hundred different Nations, whom the *French* found tractable and ingenious. Our *American* Seamen, who have

*is a mistake
or character
of the
region*

have rang'd along the Coasts, and observ'd the Mouths of this River, for the *French* say nothing of them, assure me, that Three are fit to receive the biggest Ships, and afford several safe and commodious Harbours.

But what renders the *Mississippi* still more Considerable, and deserves a particular Remark, is a vast Number of other large and navigable Rivers, that run from the Eastward and Westward, and mix at last with its Stream. Of the first, Mr. de Sale in the Account he presented to Count Frontenac of his Voyage on this River, affirms, there are six or seven, three hundred Leagues each in length, that fall below the *Illinois*, and proposes it as a Matter of the greatest Importance, that the discovery of them should be carried on to prevent the *English* of *Carolina* from interfering with the *French* in their Trade with the *Indians*, since some of these Rivers take their rise from the *Apalachin* Hills not far from our Settlements in that Colony. Higher up on the same side are many more, which by means of others, afford a conveyance into several great Lakes, and from thence into the River of St. Laurence and *Hudson's* Bay. Those from the Westward are yet more numerous, and much longer; the *Missourdi*, not to mention any of the rest, runs from the North-West at least six or seven hundred Leagues, beginning, as it is commonly

*Several
run mingling into
the Mississippi*

monly believ'd, from a certain Mountain in *Cibola*, where another River issues forth into the Gulph of *California*, and probably it was this way *Mr. de Sale* and Father *Hennepin* propos'd to go into the *South-Sea*. In short, Sir, you are to conceive one River watering so large a Country as the *Louisiana*, and extending its several Branches far enough to open a Communication between *New Spain* and *Canada*, the *South-Sea*, and the Gulph of *Mexico*; so that what the Poet said of *Egypt* and the *Nile*, may very justly be apply'd to *Louisiana*, with Respect to the *Mississippi*.

*Terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis,
Non Jovis, in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo.*

As it can hardly then be suppos'd by any Man of common Sense, that the *French* will so far neglect their Interest, whatever others may have done, as not to continue their most vigorous Efforts for establishing Commerce, and planting Colonies in this promising Country: So it seems evident, even from the short and imperfect View I have given you of its Situation, Produce and Extent, that these Settlements, whether we have War or Peace with the *French*, will not only prove hurtful, but destructive at last, to our Plantations in *America*, and consequently weaken

weaken in a very sensible manner the Strength and Power of *England*, by drying up the Streams that convey thither the greatest Part of their Wealth, and lopping off the most valuable Branches of the *British* Trade and Navigation.

For 1st, When the *French* have drawn a Line along the Borders of our Settlements in every Province from *St. Laurence* to the *Mississippi*, and built Forts to secure the most convenient Passes on the Lakes and Rivers, that Form the Communication, they will effectually cut off all Intercourse and Traffick between us and the *Indians* inhabiting the Inland Countries, and likewise compel those who are our Neighbours and Allies, by reason of the absolute Dependance they must in that Case have upon the *French* for their Liberty of Hunting and Fishing, to fall under their Subjection or starve; and by that means, besides the Usurpations and Incroachments on the Rights, that have been granted and confirmed to the *English* Subjects in *America*, by his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, and the Loss of a most beneficial Trade, I mean that of Skins, whereby the *French* in *Canada* have exceedingly enrich'd themselves, and increas'd the Revenues of the Crown; and had our Industry or Conduct been but equal to theirs, the Customs arising only from thence, as a noble Person once affirm'd, would have defray'd

*From
Canada to
Louisiana or
back of our
plantations
in practice*

fray'd in a short Time the Charges of an Expedition for reducing that Country: Besides these Hardships, I say, we must also expect to suffer continual Incurfions, Depredations and Murthers from the Savages on our Frontiers, with whom it will be impossible for us in such Circumstances to make a *real Peace*, or manage by our own Forces a *successful War*, considering the Advantages the Savage Nations have over the *Europeans*, by their way of fighting in the thick Forrests of this Continent.

That this Project is neither new nor impracticable, and that the Governors of *Canada* wanted only Incouragement from their late King to put it in Execution, appears, I think, very plainly by the Account *la Hontan* gives in some of his Letters, which have been published, of the Plan he presented to the Court of *France* in the Year 1692, by Order of Count *Frontenac*, for destroying the *Iroquois*, a very warlike and numerous People, who have on all Occasions shew'd themselves faithful Friends to us, and formidable Enemies to the *French*.

To carry on so great an Enterprize, whereof this Writer pretends to have been the first Projector (tho' in truth, Mr. *de Sale* had contriv'd it long before him) he propos'd only to have three Forts built and maintained at the Mouths of the Lakes
Errie

*proposed to
 build forts at
 Mouth of
 Lakes*

Errie and *Huron*, with some light Vessels fit for sailing or rowing, and to be provided with two hundred Soldiers, fifty able Seamen, and 15000 Crowns a Year for their Pay and Subsistence: He tells his Friend, that the Count being then Governor of *Canada*, conceiv'd so good an Opinion of this Undertaking, that in a private Letter to Mr. *Pontchartrain*, he assur'd that Minister of State, he would oblige those barbarous Nations in two Years to abandon their Country. But the King being then engag'd in a bloody and expensive War in *Europe*, was not in a Condition to allow the Supplies of Men and Money that were demanded, and for that Reason the matter was dropt: However, as this important Design was form'd when the *French* had demolish'd their Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara*, and durst advance with their Settlements on the River *St. Laurence* no higher than *Monreal*, within sixty Leagues of *Quebec*, can it be imagin'd that they will not pursue the same, and endeavour to carry it much farther, in order to subdue the *Indians*, distress our Colonies, and enlarge their own, whenever they become Masters of that vast Tract of Land, within which the Course of those Lakes and Rivers both begins and ends.

In the next Place, if the *French* be allow'd to possess themselves of the Country I have

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*I sh^d have at now mention'd of it
Frontenac & Niagara*

describ'd, and a War should afterwards happen to break out between the two Crowns, an Event not *impossible*, I presume, tho' far remov'd perhaps from the Days we live in, they will find it a Matter of no great Difficulty, with the Assistance of the *Indians*, to invade from thence and *Canada*, all the English *Plantations* at once, and drive the Inhabitants into the Sea, unless they come to be enabled by some extraordinary Means, which is a thing rather to be *wish'd* for than *depended on*, to provide infinitely better, than they can at present for their Safety and Preservation.

You will easily perceive, Sir, by casting an Eye upon the Map, which I have herewith sent you, that *St. Laurence* and the *Mississippi*, with the Lakes and Rivers that run between them, surround by Land all the Provinces on the Main of *America* belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and that from the Branches of these great Rivers, and some falling into the Lakes *Champlain* and *Errie*, a safe and direct Passage may be found out almost to every one of them, by means of other large Rivers, wherewith the whole Country abounds.

Thro' some of these Channels the *French* have already made many Descents from *Canada* upon our *Northern* Colonies, destroy'd our Settlements, and laid entire Provinces waste, nor could the Inhabitants of *New-York* (there

*General
Report
of the French
all driven
into the Sea*

(there being only a Land Carriage of two Leagues from the Lake St. *Sacrement* at the Bottom of that of *Champlain*, to a Branch of *Hudson's* River, whereon the City of *New York* stands) have been able to secure themselves from the dismal Consequences of the like Attempts, but by the singular Valour of the *Mohacks* or *Proquois*, who gall'd the *French* so sensibly, that they oblig'd them to retire, as I have already observ'd, within sixty Leagues of *Quebec*, and sue for Peace on any Terms; and that they may easily penetrate the same way into those *English* Colonies that lie to the *Southward*, particularly *Virginia* and *Carolina*, when once they have planted themselves on the Banks of the Lakes *Frontenac* and *Errie*, and some Rivers that run from the same side into the *Mississippi*, is obvious by their own Accounts, and the Discoveries of our *Indian* Traders or *Cou-reurs de Bois*, as the *French* call them, who range over these Parts of the Continent.

Besides, all the Plantations we are actually possess'd of at this Time, lie naked and open to every Attack by Land; we have no *Forts* nor *Garrisons* to defend our Frontiers; the Numbers of our People are small and inconsiderable in respect of the large Tracts of Land they inhabit; their Dwellings scatter'd at a great Distance from one another, except towards the Sea. In short,

Handwritten signature
W. J. Hall

I know of no Protection we have to rely on, but that of the *Indians*; and with how little Reason we can expect it in the Case above-mention'd I have endeavour'd to shew.

It seems therefore very surprizing, that during these seven Years of Peace, no Proposals have been offer'd, or effectual Measures taken to settle and fortify *Nova Scotia*, the only Province in *America* belonging to the Crown, that can be made a sufficient Barrier to cover any of our Plantations from the Invasions of the *French*, and check their Motions on that Side by Sea and Land: It is impossible for one so little acquainted with publick Affairs as I am, to guess the Reason why a prudent and frugal Nation, instead of improving the vast Advantages that naturally flow from so important a Conquest, should lavish away their Money only to support an useless insignificant Title.

That I may explain my Thoughts on this Point more fully, I beg leave, Sir, to observe, that the *French* having been disposs'd of all their Settlements to the Southward of the River St. Laurence, by Sir Samuel Argal, Governor of *Virginia*, so much of the main Land as lies between that River and the Bay *Françoise*, from the River St. Croix, West, to the Isle of *Assumption*, East; together with the *Peninsula*, which the

French

Nova Scotia
is the only
Province

French nam'd *L'Accadie* (form'd by two large Bays to be seen in the Map) was granted in the Year 1621, by K. *James* the First, to Sir *William Alexander*, afterwards Earl of *Sterline*, who sent thither a Colony of his Country-Men ; and as a farther Encouragement, obtain'd a Patent for advancing a certain Number of Persons to the Hereditary Dignity of Baronets, or Knights of *Nova Scotia* ; the Profits whereof were to be wholly employ'd for the Benefit of this Plantation ; but finding it a Matter of much greater Weight than at first he apprehended it to be : He soon quitted *Port-Royal*, and with it the whole Country to the *French*, in whose Hands it continued for the most part 'till the Year 1654, when Colonel *Sedgewick* re-took it by Order of the Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*. The *French* Ambassador made pressing Instances at the Treaty of Peace in the Year following to have it restor'd ; but the then Government of *England* could by no means be prevail'd with to resign a Country, which they look'd upon as the Bulwark of the several Colonies planted at that Time in *New-England*. However after the *Restoration* they had it deliver'd up to them, and kept Possession of it, 'till Her late Majesty, being mov'd with the many Representations that were laid before her of the Damages done to the Colonies,

nies, I have just now mention'd, by the *French* in *Nova Scotia*, was pleas'd to order an Expedition to be made thither, *Ann.* 1710, under the Direction of General *Nicholson*, by whose good Conduct *Port Royal*, which he nam'd *Annapolis Royal*, was once more recover'd; and by the Treaty of Peace at *Utrecht*, all *Nova Scotia*, with the Islands thereto belonging, except *Cape Breton*, was yielded up to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

It must be acknowledg'd, Sir, that ever since that Time no Care has been wanting to provide this Province with Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other inferior Officers, both Civil and Military, and also with a considerable Number of regular Forces; but with great Submission, I think the Orator's Question may very pertinently be repeated here, *Cui bono?* And, indeed, what great Service can be expected from a single Garrison, whose Command reaches no farther than their Guns, whilst the whole Country is abandon'd to the *French*, who make Settlements, and erect Forts by Order of the Governor of *Canada* on all the principal Rivers, particularly *St. John's*, *Passamaquady* and *Penobscot*, and have possess'd themselves of our Fishery, at *Canseaux*, which is perhaps the best in the World? For tho' according to the true Meaning of the 11th Article of the Treaty at *Utrecht*, they

they can claim no more Liberty to fish there, than on any other Part of that Coast ; yet finding that their New Plantations on *Cape Breton* were scarce habitable, they not only managed their Fishery on our Ground, and in our Harbours, but by the Assistance of the *Indians* pull'd down our Stages, destroy'd our Vessels, and have at last proceeded so far, as to suffer none of his Majesty's Subjects to catch or cure Fish at the Island of *Canseaux*, without first paying for a License from the Governor of *Cape Breton* : Which by the way, in my humble Opinion, is a convincing Argument, that unless you can suppose that Gentleman to be of the same Complexion with one, I may perhaps name before I conclude this Letter, the *French* have no manner of Right to these Islands and Harbours ; If they had, it would be an unpardonable Crime in him to allow the *English* to Trade or Fish there on any Account whatsoever ; and the Reason is, because all Governors in *America*, whether *English* or *French*, receive express Instructions from their respective Masters to put in Execution the Articles of the Treaty of Neutrality in *America*, between King *James II.* and the late King of *France*, wherein it is stipulated, that none of the Subjects of either King shall Trade or Fish in the Bays, &c. belonging to the other, under the

the Penalty of the Vessel so Trading or Fishing, and Lading being confiscated. / But on the other Hand, if it be a doubtful Case, whether the right belongs to them, Why have not skilful and judicious Men been employ'd to draw the imaginary Line from the Isle of *Sables* to the Coast of *Nova Scotia*, in order to fix the Boundaries set down in the Treaty, and thereby prevent, at least, the Mischiefs, wherewith our Trade to those Parts has been for several Years attended? Without such an expedient, I am perswaded the Controversy can never be decided fairly at *Paris* or *London*: but to return to our Fishery at *Canseaux*.

There being no Hopes of any Support or Relief from the Government of *Nova Scotia*, Application was made from time to time to that of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New England*, whose chief Interest consists in the Preservation of that Fishery, but nothing was done, for what Reasons I shall not say at present, till last Year Captain *Smart*, who attends that Station with his Majesties Ship the *Squirrel*, went thither by Direction of the Governor and Council: He found sundry *French Ships* and Vessels laden and lading with Fish, but wanted Hands to carry off more than two of the smallest, which he brought into the Harbour of *Boston*, and upon his Arrival, acquainted the Governour, Colonel *Shute*, with his

his Proceedings. His Excellency commended the Captains Conduct, and being obliged to attend the *weighty Affairs* of his other Government of *New Hampshire*, advis'd him to prepare an exact Account of what he had taken from the *French*, to be laid before him at his return. In the mean time, the Fish on Board beginning to spoil, the Captain desir'd the Advocate General to libel the Vessels and Cargoes in the Court of Admiralty, and move for a Sentence of Confiscation pursuant to the Treaty of Neutrality. The Judge Mr. *Menzies* seem'd very unwilling to proceed in the Governors Absence, but the Consideration of *forty Pounds New England Money*, a Hogshead of Claret, and a large Cask of Brandy, made him wave all others, and so the whole was adjudged to be dispos'd of by Captain *Smart* for the Use of the King.

His Excellency, notwithstanding the Decree, no sooner returned, than he gave a written Order to the Marshal of Admiralty to raise the *Posse*, and force the Prizes out off Captain *Smart's* Custody, but the Marshal finding no body so obsequious to the Vice-Admiral (as he stiles himself) as to venture on so desperate an Attempt, turn'd his military Exploit into a submissive Complement, and thus Captain *Smart* sav'd his Prizes, tho' he lost by it that great *Man's* Favour.

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It would be too trifling for the Subject I am upon, to pursue the Circumstances of this Affair any further, nor is it worth your while to know that by his Excellencies means Captain *Smart* was imprison'd, his Friend Mr. *Smith* the Advocate General suspended, and Mr. *Cook* turn'd out of a Place of 300 *l.* a Year, for asserting the Governor was no *Blockhead*, tho' I must own there is a severe Law against *lying* in that Country, as there is in all others against the most predominant Vices; I shall therefore only mention two short Passages, because they serve to explain what I am by and by to offer to your Consideration.

The first is thus. About two or three Months after Captain *Smart* had left *Canseaux*, a French Officer arriv'd at *Boston* with Instructions from the Governor of *Cape Breton*, to demand Satisfaction for the Injury done the Subjects of *France*, and Restitution of the Vessels. He was well receiv'd by the Governor, and advis'd to lay the Matter before his Excellency and the Council Board, which he did in such Terms, that Captain *Smart* thought himself oblig'd in Duty to his Majesty as well as in Justice to himself, to complain in a Letter to them, of that Gentleman's manner of Negotiating, seeing what he had done was by their own Direction, for their Interest, and approv'd. Whether this
Letter

Letter was ever read in Council, I will not be positive, but it wrought so little upon the Governor, that in his Answer he told Captain *Smart* the *French* had been too severely us'd, and that the Governor of *Cape Breton* ought to have been first consulted, tho' he knew very well at the same time, that no *Englishman* durst Trade there without that Governors Licence, and accordingly, it was mov'd at the Board, that their Agent in *England* should be directed to use his best Endeavours at Court for obtaining Reparation for the Losses the *French* had sustain'd at *Canseaux*, but some of these grave Senators were too wise to give into such Measures, as must infallibly have ruin'd their Country. However, I am inform'd, that an Order is come over from the Regency, you may easily guess who were the Solicitors, requiring Captain *Smart* to deliver up what he took, or the Value, notwithstanding a former Order from the King, whereby his Majesty was graciously pleas'd to grant to him and his Officers the whole; but this is the Captain's Business, not yours or mine, and so I leave it.

The other Passage is of the same Nature with the first, and only confirms it. When Captain *Smart* was at *Canseaux* amongst the *French* Inhabitants, he found one *la Sande*, who had formerly liv'd near *Annapolis Royal*, and sworn Allegiance to

the late Queen, but afterwards removing to *Cape Breton*, and from thence to *Canseaux*, by his Practices and Influence on the *Indians*, he forced our People to quit the Place, burnt their Vessels, and committed the greatest Outrages, and even Murther upon them, for which he pretended to have a Commission from the Governor of *Cape Breton*; whatever Truth may be in that, it is certain, Colonel *Doucet* Lieutenant Governor of *Nova Scotia*, the Governor being then Absent, sent several Complaints against this *la Sonde* to the *French* Governor, without the least Effect: Upon Colonel *Doucet*'s Letters, and at the earnest Request of the *English* Merchants and Masters, Captain *Smart* carried him to *Boston*, where he deliver'd him up to Colonel *Shute*, with the Reasons he had to bring him. His Excellency, who *without doubt* is a very good natur'd Man, having talk'd with Monsieur *la Sonde* aside, told him, *he was as good an Englishman as he was*, and instead of examining into the Truth of what was alledg'd against him, or sending him to Colonel *Doucet*, within whose Jurisdiction he had resided, and committed the Crimes charged upon him, he desir'd he might give into the Council Board an Account of what he had lost by Captain *Smart*'s Expedition. The Account was brought in and sworn to, and tho' every Article of it was disprov'd by the Oaths

Oaths of very worthy Men, yet the Governor would have Monsieur *la Sonde* still pass for an honest Fellow. But the trading Part of the Country being extremely provok'd at such Proceedings, sent from all Parts Accusations and Affidavits against him, so that being furnish'd with a private Pass, and as much Money as purchas'd a Vessel, he was content to march off in the dark, and to confirm the good Opinion his Excellency was pleas'd to entertain of him, burnt one of our Ships immediately after his Return to *Nova Scotia*.

Thus, Sir, the *French* treat us in *America*, when there is the firmest Alliance between the two Crowns, and thus are we *protected*, and if under such Circumstances our Plantations shall ever attain to a prosperous and flourishing Condition, I will venture to say, it must be the same way Duke *Robert* of *Normandy* was carried into Heaven. The Story is long, and therefore I beg leave to refer you to the History of the *holy Wars*, where probably you will find it.

I have insisted the longer on this Head, that you may be able to judge how essential it is to the Preservation of our Colonies, especially *New England*, that *Nova Scotia* should be planted and put in a Condition to make Head against the *French*. I can assure you, if the Charges the Nation have been at
ever

ever since the Peace, in maintaining a numerous Garrison at *Annapolis Royal*, when fifty Men might have done the same Service, had been employ'd that way, they would before this time have had their Money return'd with double Interest. A certain *French* Author above thirty Years ago, having given an Account of this Country, and the Advantages it yielded at that time to *France*, viz. Furs, Naval Stores, Fish, &c. concludes with a Prophecy, that the *English* would be sole Masters of it some time or other; I hope the Prophecy will be true, but I am sorry I should have Reason to say, that it is not yet fulfill'd.

*Tarpeio quondam cecinit de Vertice Cornix.
Est bene non potuit dicere dixit erit.*

And now, Sir, having observ'd to you the easy Access the *French* have to all our Colonies on the Continent of *America*, from *Canada* and *Louisiana* by Land and Water, and that without the Aid of the *Indians* our Neighbours, it will not be in our Power to prevent their Irruptions, I come in the next Place to consider the Condition we are in to defend ourselves against the *French*, if they should attack us within our Settlements.

Tho' the *French* in *Canada* have neither exceeded us in Numbers, nor the rest of their Country-

Countrymen in Courage; nevertheless it is certain, they have gain'd upon us for many Years past; and whilst their Grand Monarch was losing Towns and Battles in *Europe*, they had the good Fortune to extend their Conquests, and enlarge his Dominions in *America*. Nor will this seem any Matter of Wonder to one, who reflects seriously on the Constitution and Form of their Government, the Incouragement they have from the Crown of *France*, and their dextrous way of managing the *Indians*.

It has been a Maxim constantly observ'd by all Princes and States, who have planted Colonies or subdued Nations, to keep them united under the Command of particular Governors, in Subordination to others, who presided over the whole, to the end Justice might be impartially administred, Seditions prevented, or easily suppress'd; and each inferior Government strengthen'd and supported by the rest. In the *Roman Empire*, which contain'd one hundred and twenty Provinces, and near three hundred Colonies, we find only four Prefects or chief Governors under the Emperor, In the Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* two, and in *Canada*, to which *Louisiana* is added, but one. And lest you should imagine Sir, that an extensive Command must necessarily be attended with

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*One Henry
propd*

Arbitrary Power, it may be affirm'd with a great Deal of Truth, that the Governor General of *Canada* is more effectually restrain'd from breaking in either upon the Rights of the *Crown*, or those of the *Subject*, than the most petty Governors, being liable to the Check of the Intendant in the first Case, and of the Sovereign Council in the last.

*Care of 11 Months
for 12 Months
of Men & Women*

Besides Guards and Garrisons, there is a considerable Body of regular Troops continually employ'd in the Service of the Colony, without the least Burthen or Charge to the Planters: All Civil Officers as well as Military, have certain Yearly Pensions settled upon them, and none are admitted into Places of the greatest Trust, but such as have distinguish'd themselves at the Court of *France* by their Quality and Merit, under whose Administration the Country is become so Populous, that as I am inform'd, it contains at present 200000 Souls. This prodigious Increase is chiefly to be ascrib'd to their inter-marrying with the *Indians*, whom by this means they firmly engage in their Interest. In every Tribe there are some Missionary Priests, and tho' few or none of the Savages have ever been made thorough Converts to the Truths of the *Christian Religion*, yet in all other Matters they look upon these good Fathers as *Tutelar Gods*, and give them-

200,000 Souls

themselves up entirely to be directed by their Councils.

On the other Hand, the Country possess'd by the *English* in *America* seems to be much in the same State *Britain* was at the first Entrance of the *Romans*, for as that *was divided* (to use the Words of a good Historian) *into several Nations, each govern'd by its own Kings and particular Princes, different in their Ends and Counsels, and so more easily subdued by united Forces, for dum singuli pugnabant universi vincebantur, i. e. While they fought in single Bodies, the whole Island was conquer'd;* so in this Country, to draw the Parallel no farther, we have thirteen Colonies at least severally govern'd by their respective Commanders in chief according to their peculiar Laws and Constitutions. It would be too tedious and foreign to my Design to consider the several Sorts of Government establish'd in these Provinces, and the different Views and Interests they have to pursue, nor would I give you the least Occasion to think that I am an Enemy to those Liberties and Privileges, most of them enjoy by the Favour of the Crown; I shall therefore only observe, that next to their being independent one of another, nothing weakens our Plantations more, nor will expose them to greater Danger in Case of a War with *France*, than the unskilful Administration (to call it

no worse) of those, who are appointed Governors of many of them, and are left to trust to Providence for their Subsistence.

I will not say that all who come hither, like those in *David's Camp*, are in *Debt* or *Distress*, and consequently unfit to advance Matters of publick Interest; but you may find some in *London*, who can inform you, that in time of War the *Indians* have been supply'd with *Powder and Shot*, the *French* with *Provisions*, and the *Spaniards* with *Naval Stores*. *Themistocles* said, that he could not play on a *Fiddle*, but understood how to make a little City a great one; but some of these fiddling Gentlemen, by keeping up Parties and Factions, and oppressing the People under Colour of his Majesties Authority, have made a flourishing Colony a very poor one.

And here I beg leave to mention another Set of Officers, who are settled in every Province by Commissions from *England*, but without any Salaries annex'd to the ample Powers they are invested with. These are Judges, Advocates, Registers, and Marshals of Admiralty, who having nothing to depend on but the *Fees of Court*, and being altogether unqualify'd for such Employments, by promoting litigious Actions, and pronouncing unjust Decrees, have brought our
Trade

Trade under a very sensible Decay. It is pity so useful a Court in these Parts should not be better establish'd : I am perswaded, if the Nation consider'd how much their Interest depends upon the Prosperity of the Plantations, and at the same time, what Discouragements we lie under by the means of such *Volunteer Governors, Judges, &c.* who use their Commissions as some do Letters of Reprials, they would order these Matters to be more strictly examin'd, and take proper Methods for preventing so great Abuses.

But to give you a more distinct View of the Difference between the Colonies depending absolutely on the Crown, and such as are granted by Patents and Charters, with Respect to the Resistance they are able to make in Time of War : I need only compare *Virginia* and *New York* with *New England* and *Carolina*.

Virginia was planted *Anno 1584*, at the Charges, and by the Direction of the incomparable Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who took Possession of it by *Amadas* and *Barlow* in the Name of Queen *Elizabeth*. In the Year 1606, a Commission was granted to some Noblemen and Merchants to advance the Settlements under the Government of Captain *Smith*, who was succeeded by Lord *De-laware*. Since that time the Colony has flourish'd so much, having been always supply'd

with great Men for their Governors, who not only kept the *Indians* in Subjection, but acquir'd to the Crown *New York*, *Nova Scotia*, and all the Countries lying to the Southward of *St. Laurence*, as I have said before, that it is at present of more Value to *England* than perhaps half of the Plantations on the Continent besides.

New York has been no less happily govern'd; they have inviolably maintain'd their Alliance with the numerous Nations of the *Iroquois*, and by that means preserv'd the Tranquillity of their Country.

On the contrary, the Inhabitants of *New England* and *Carolina* find the Savages implacable Enemies, for which I think no other Reason can be assign'd, than that the Governors of these Colonies have not Authority enough to prevent the unfair Usage, the *Indians* frequently complain of, or neglect to give them due Satisfaction when they are wrong'd. In short, Sir, he ought to be a cunning Man that treats with the *Indians*, and therefore the *French* leave that Business to the *Jesuits*.

To conclude this Point, as his Majesty's Dominion on this Continent is canton'd into so many petty independent States or Common-Wealths, whereof there is scarce one that can expect Relief or Assistance from another, in the most imminent Danger, which

I could

I could make appear by several Instances; as the Inhabitants of each Colony are unable to defend themselves against a powerful Army of *French* and *Indians*, and the Administration of some of them too weak and unsteady to be confided in, and as it seems impossible we should ever succeed in engaging the *Indians* on our side against the *French*, for the Reasons I have already given, I think it naturally follows, that some time or other, the *Mississippi* will drown our Settlements on the Main of *America*.

The third unhappy Circumstance that attends the *French* settling in the *Louisiana* with respect to us, is their being thereby Masters of the *Gulph of Mexico*, and consequently in a Condition to ruin our Trade to *Jamaica*. They are already possess'd of a great Part of *Hispaniola*, they have not long ago taken *Pensacola* from the *Spaniards*, a Place of very great Importance, and when they have fortified their Settlements at the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, *Havana* and *Vera Cruz* will probably fall into their Hands also. How much it concerns the Interest of *England*, that the Rights of the Crown of *Spain* should be asserted and preserv'd in the *West Indies*, we learn from the Example of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had it in her Power, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* affirms, to have stripp'd her profess'd Enemy King *Philip II.* of those
Domi-

Dominions, and yet could not be prevail'd upon by her Officers to put the Design in Execution. I cannot therefore believe that the *French* will ever be allow'd directly against the Letter of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to enjoy any Acquisitions they have made in *America* during this War (which undoubtedly we should not have engag'd in but upon the wisest Reasons, and most mature Deliberations) since in such a Case, they would plainly have made us the Cat's Foot, and the headless Instruments of our own Destruction.

The French will get Tobacco & Sugar from
 In the last Place, when the *French* have planted *Louisiana*, they will be able to supply from thence the Markets of *Europe* with Tobacco, Sugars, and all other Sorts of Commodities, growing or produc'd in our Plantations at a much cheaper Rate than we can; for besides the Goodness of the Soil, and the Industry and Frugality of the *French*, wherein they infinitely exceed us, the Planters are furnish'd with Necessaries from *France* at a moderate Price, which is settled by the Company, and affix'd in those Store-houses and Magazines they have in the Colony, half the Number of *Negroes* we commonly employ will suffice them, and these they have Liberty to bring directly from *Guinea*; the Country abounds with all Kinds of Provision, which our Islands want extremely, nor will the Inhabitants be oppress'd with

with grievous Taxes and Imposts, as we are, to support their Civil Government: To give you an undeniable Instance of this, Sugar at this time is sold in *Jamaica* for *three and twenty Shillings* per hundred, and in *Hispaniola* for *Six and Six-pence*, which is the Reason the Merchants in *Jamaica* clandestinely import vast Quantities of the *French Sugars*, and send them to *England*. Whence it is evident, the Consumption of our enumerated Plantation-Goods must center entirely in *Great-Britain*, and what then becomes of our Commerce up the *Elbe* and *Weser*, the two Rivers (as we are told) of the greatest Consequence in the World to *England*, the *Thames* and *Severn* excepted, thro' whose Streams so great a Part of our Riches is convey'd, and flows home continually amongst us?

Well! But the Chimerical Gentlemen assure us, that the *French* cannot within the Compass of an Age bring their Settlements to such a Degree of Perfection, as to interfere with our Interest, and so we shall have Peace in our Days; if this was true, is there no regard due to those who come after us? Or are we to be the less careful to prevent the Danger, because it may only overtake our Children? But to convince you, Sir, that even from this Moment we may expect to feel the Effects of their growing Colony, it will be sufficient that I observe only two ways amongst many

*French
Sugar
cheap*

many others, the *Regent* has taken to encrease the *Number*, and encourage the *Industry* of the *Planters*.

Encouragement
given
French
plantation
in Louisiana
no
First, all Persons who have a mind to go thither, are furnish'd with Ships and Necessaries at the publick Charge; those who are bred up in the Hospitals (whereof there is a prodigious Number in *France*) are transported in the same Manner, and every single Man is oblig'd to marry an *Indian* Woman. In the next Place to enable them to Trade amongst themselves, they have a continual supply of twenty five Millions in Bank Bills granted them, by an Arrêt of the 16th of *July* last, and as the Preamble of that Arrêt may serve to give you a clearer Idea of the State of that Country, I shall here insert it, to save you the trouble of consulting the publick Papers.

Nation
granted
Mississippi
Company
“ The King having by his Letters Patents of the Month of *August* 1717, establish'd a Trading Company under the Name of the *West India* Company, and by his Edict in *May* last, reunited to the said Company the Trade to the *East Indies*, *China*, &c. His Majesty sees with great Satisfaction, that that Company takes the best Measures for securing the Success of its Establishment, that they send a great Number of Inhabitants to the Country of *Louisiana*, which was granted them, that many private

" vate Persons make Settlements in that Co.
 " lony, and send thither Husbandmen, Til-
 " lers, and other Handicrafts Men, to ma-
 " nure and improve the Land, sow Corn,
 " plant Tobacco, breed Silk-worms, and do
 " whatever is necessary to improve the Coun-
 " try. Furthermore, his Majesty being in-
 " form'd, that the said *Indian* Company is
 " at great Charges for transporting the said
 " Inhabitants, and furnishing the Colony
 " with Meal and other Necessaries, till the
 " Land affords a sufficient Quantity of Pro-
 " visions for their Subsistence, that the Com-
 " pany sends thither all Sorts of Goods and
 " Merchandizes, to render the Life of the
 " Inhabitants more comfortable, and that
 " for preventing Abuses too frequent in Co-
 " lonies, they have taken Care to settle the
 " Price thereof at a moderate Rate by a
 " general Tariff. &c. Which Dispositions
 " have appear'd so wise and necessary, that
 " his Majesty is resolv'd to favour the Exe-
 " cution thereof, and knowing that the ex-
 " changing of Goods not being sufficient to
 " carry on Commerce in its full Extent, it is
 " necessary in the beginning of Establish-
 " ments of this Nature, to give them all
 " possible Protection and Countenance, his
 " Majesty has resolv'd to supply the said
 " Company with a Sum of Bank Bills to
 " enable the Inhabitants of *Louisiana* to
 " H Trade

“ Trade amongst themselves, and bring into
 “ *France* the Fruits of their Labour, Indu-
 “ stry and Oeconomy without any Risque
 “ or Charge.

The Effects of these wise Ordinances are but too visible, their Settlements being already farther advanced and in a better Condition than ours were in *Virginia* for twenty Years after it was first planted, nor indeed is it possible to conceive how they can miscarry in their vast Designs, being supported by the Revenues of *France*, and those Revenues encreas'd by their Industry and Labour.

Would a certain Body of Men, who in some other Points disdain not to Copy after Mr. *Law*'s Schemes, instead of Stock-jobbing the publick Debts (whereby the Nation evidently loses great Sums, especially to Foreigners) employ their Money and Interest at Court, in securing and enlarging our Trade, by planting fine Countries belonging to the Crown in *America*, which at present are inhabited by *Indians* only, and wild Beasts, they might with a great Deal of Justice be entitled to the Honour of being thought *the English Mississippi Company*, but if neither this nor any other Undertaking equally Beneficial to the Kingdom be intended, I leave you to judge, whether malicious Persons at least, will not be ready to suggest, that whilst some go about to lessen our Apprehensions of a
real

*to a Company
 the Don*

real Danger, they endeavour only to amuse us with *Chimæras* of their own.

Having finish'd the Reflections, I propos'd to present you with on the Consequences of the *French* settling themselves in *Louisiana* with Respect to our Plantations, I shall conclude my Letter in the Words of Dr. *Davenant*, which may very properly, in my Opinion, be apply'd to the *French* at this time, *In some Parts they supplant us, and every where out-wit us, and when we observe them still endeavouring to get Ground, and never yielding any Point, but forming long Schemes, calculated to take Effect for many Years to come, in order to enlarge themselves at any Expences, it will become good Patriots to look about them, and to take Care, lest in time England should be in a Manner excluded from the Commercial World.* I am

Sir, &c.

POST-

P O S T S C R I P T.

I Am sorry to find my fears about the Plantations too well justify'd by the Accounts we have this Moment receiv'd from *South Carolina*, the Substance whereof is, that the Inhabitants have depos'd their Governor, and set up one of their own chusing in his Room. In what manner these Proceedings will be resented in *England*, I will not take upon me to determine, but with humble Submission to our *Superiors*, I beg leave to affirm, that they will find it no easy Matter to prevent such unwarrantable Steps, so long as Oppression and Corruption are suffer'd to reign amongst us, and those who are injur'd, must be oblig'd to attend some *B—ds* many Months, nay Years, and at last return perhaps without being heard. When the *Roman* Grandee told the old Woman, who deliver'd him a Petition, that he was not at Leisure to mind it, she smartly reply'd, *exue te officio, then quit your Post*. In my next you may expect more of this.

In the mean time be pleas'd to consider the following Case, which I think proper to subjoin here, because it fully explains what I have already advanced concerning the

the Courts of Admiralty establish'd in *America*.

A Gentleman, who was *Advocate General* in one of these Courts, having been suspended, very unjustly as he believ'd, by the carrying his Complaint to *England*. Soon after his Arrival, he signified in a Letter to a Person of Honour, that the hard Usage he had met with from C. S. in being discharged by his Order on the 23d of *June* last, without any Colour of Reason or Notice given him, not only from exercising the Office of *Advocate General*, but likewise from pleading in the Court during his pleasure, had forced him to leave *America*, in order to make his Application to the L--- more effectually, and that if their L---- would give him leave, he hop'd he should be able to prove, that as the G---r in Quality of *Vice Admiral*, had us'd his utmost Endeavours to suppress their L--- Authority and Jurisdiction in those Parts, and thereby ruin the Trade of the Inhabitants; so the Oppression he complain'd of, proceeded only from his adhering to the strict Rules of his Duty, and refusing to justify such Arbitrary Practices.

This Letter was follow'd by a Memorial to the B---d, wherein he represented, that after the many Complaints, which had been laid before their L--- against that

that G——'s Proceedings with Respect to Admiralty Matters, the little Regard he had shew'd to their repeated Orders, and the Injuries the *Complainant* suffer'd from him for asserting the Rights of the Crown and their Authority, he humbly conceiv'd it was his Duty to attend their L—— with a full and particular Account of the great Abuses committed by that *Gentleman*, under Colour of his Commission for being *Vice Admiral*. And first,

That by Virtue thereof, he assumes the Power of issuing out Warrants under his Hand and Seal (with a Clause directing military Execution to be us'd in Case of Resistance) to the *Marshal of Admiralty*, or such other Persons, as he thinks fit to appoint from time to time, for citing Parties, examining Witnesses, making Discoveries upon Oath of Perquisites of Admiralty, and for seizing under that Pretence Ships and Effects, and disposing of the same without any legal Process or Tryal to his own Use, and generally to execute by his own Authority only, all other judicial Acts whatsoever, to the grievous Oppression of his Majesties Subjects, &c.

To prove this Article, he set forth, that the most beneficial, and indeed the only Trade that Country has to depend on during the Winter Season, is *Whale-fishing*, wherein the Method constantly observed by those, who work

work upon the *Whales*, is, after they have struck their Irons, and marked the Places which are wounded, they leave them to be driven ashore by the Winds and Tides, and upon making out their respective Properties, they have the *Whales* deliver'd up by the Finders. That the *V*———*I*, notwithstanding clear and evident Proofs brought by the Claimants, not only possessed himself at several Times of sundry *Whales*, but took by Force considerable Quantities of Oil and Bone out of the Hands of the lawful Owners, and last Winter seiz'd about thirteen *Whales*, which were kill'd in the Bay, and taken upon the Land.

That the said *Advocate General* at the Request of the Parties aggriev'd, and pursuant to his Duty, moved in Court, that the Property of the *Whales* might be tryed and adjudged according to Law, and that having exhibited Libels for that Purpose, he obtain'd a Decree upon one of them in Favour of the Claimers, tho' by means of the *G*——'s sham Warrants, several long and unnecessary Adjournments of the Court, and many other Obstructions which were thrown in the way, to deterr others from applying in the like manner for Redress, the Charges equall'd almost the Value of the *Whale*; but that two Days before he was to be heard on the rest, to prevent making any farther Opposition

position to his E — — — cy's Interest, he was suspended from the Exercise of any Employment in that Court, by a private Order directed to the Judge.

There are many more Articles contain'd in this Memorial against the V — — — l's Conduct, which I omit; it is sufficient at present to take Notice only, that the Person who presented it, assures us, that it has been his Misfortune to find no Access to the R — — H — — B — — and that neither the Memorial nor the following Letter were thought worth reading.

Abstract of a LETTER concerning the Officers of Admiralty in N.

IN the Representation I lately gave in, I did with great Submission observe to their L — — — that the Court of Admiralty establish'd in N. instead of being useful to the Trade and Navigation of the Country, proves at present an intollerable Grievance, and in some of my Letters from thence I acquainted you, that in my humble Opinion, the Abuses therein complain'd of could neither be prevented nor reform'd any other way, than by appointing Men of Probity and Knowledge, and in all other Respects fitly qualify'd to execute the several Offices, whereof the Court consists.

That

That I may explain this Matter more fully, I beg leave from the Experience and Knowledge I have had of the Officers, who are now by Virtue of their Warrants in the actual Exercise of these Employments, to give you the following Account of their Ability and Conduct.

The Judge besides his unskilfulness in the Maritime Laws, and unintelligible Kind of Speech, hath been so notoriously Guilty of Corruption, that very few Cases of any Importance have been brought before him, wherein his Interest hath not over ruled his Judgment, and fram'd the Decision in favour of the highest Bidder. In June 1717. a Controversy happening amongst the Fishermen concerning the Property of two Whales; he took one to himself to answer his Costs, and divided the other between the contending Parties, in Consideration of 30 l. over and above his Costs paid to him by those, who in Justice were entitl'd to no Share at all. He could not be prevail'd with to proceed to a Condemnation of Captain Smart's Prizes, before he was assur'd of receiving 40 l. and taking Advantage of the Difference between the Governor and Captain Smart, he refus'd at last to give Sentence without a larger Premium, viz. a Hogshead of French Claret, and a Cask of Brandy, which Captain Smart, to prevent the Prizes being deliver'd up to the Governor, was forced to yield to. In May 1718, he acquitted a Ship call'd the King George, which was li-
I bel'd

bel d for importing from Ireland, Iron, French Brandy, and Irish Freeze contrary to Law, in Consideration of having assign'd over to him, as it is believ'd, two Men-Servants, valued at 22 l. each. To these and many more undeniable Instances of Bribery, may be added other Parts of his Conduct, not only unbecoming, but with Submission entirely inconsistent with the Character of an upright Judge; namely, his soliciting and drawing vexatious Suits before him only for the sake of Costs, and encouraging for that end Attorneys and others to create Quarrels between Sailors and their Masters; his advising Parties privately both before and during the Tryal how to proceed, his compounding for Costs before Sentence, and altering the Sentence after it is pronounced and lodged in Court several Times, according to the several Applications made to him by the contending Parties.

The Register is the Governors menial Servant, and the immediate Instrument made use of by his Master in committing many of those Abuses, which I have humbly represented to them, the Warrants and Orders complain'd of being commonly issued out by the Register, and consequently of greater Authority, as coming from a legal Officer. Nor is it to be expected, that Justice can be impartially administer'd in a Court, whilst the Person who ought to be the Hinge of it, is wholly under the Direction and Command

Command of one, who makes no Scruple to sacrifice the Court, &c. to his Arbitrary Power.

As to the Marshal, I have often mention'd him to you in my Letters as a very corrupt Officer, both in the Custom-house and Admiralty; in which Employments the Governor finds it necessary to continue him, notwithstanding their Lordships Order to the contrary, by Reason his Warrants for seizing Ships and Goods are always directed to him, and so punctual he is in the executing of them, that in Contempt of the Decree of Court, he attempted to force Captain Smart's Prizes out of his Possession. In every Case he exacts treble Fees at least, and combining with the Register, takes out Warrants under the Seal of the Office for arresting poor ignorant Strangers, and then compounds for a Sum of Money to discharge them. I have often complain'd in Court of these Practices, but found the Judge too deeply engag'd himself to suffer Matters of this Kind to come under a strict Examination.

By this brief Description, which I can prove and enlarge to a hundred particulars more, you may easily perceive what a wretched Court this must needs be, that is made up of such Members, with whom an honest Man would think it a Scandal to act in Society; and how unhappy the People who live within the Limits of its Jurisdiction; and as it is very unlikely, that these Offices, which have no Salaries annex'd

(65)
to them, can be supply'd from England with
Men of Worth, and such competent Fortunes,
as may secure them from falling before the Tem-
ptations, their Necessities would certainly expose
themselves to, I hope it will seem reasonable, that none
be admitted, but such as are recommended by Men
of Figure and Esteem in the Country; and it
being as unlikely, that even good Officers can
faithfully discharge their Duty, so long as the
G — by Virtue of his Power, over-awes
them into a compliance with his Orders: I
humbly submit it to their L — Wisdom, whe-
ther it would not be for his Majesty's Service,
the Interest of his Subjects, and their Lord-
ships Honour, that the G — rs should be di-
vested of that Power, as others have been here-
tofore, and that the Money arising by Perqui-
sites of Admiralty should be levy'd, collected
and apply'd by such Persons, and to such Uses
as their Lordships shall from Time to Time be
pleased to direct.

F I N I S.

